

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

842 The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 784 [634] During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/47 cont.-/

262 chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

252
260
[222] During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

[272]
1. Milk which is left to sour
in special food vessels.

At sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of tupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/48 cont./

262 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups
and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast
upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro
returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his
enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is
more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven
at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by pick-
ing wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food
at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats
or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman
occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men
in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place
if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in
this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond
servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty
under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced
by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family
are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to
leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her re-
sponsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

. . .

855
513

The child of middle years keeps the same hour for sleep-
ing as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchono or hamaca/ /48/,
[35] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged
[43] in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young
children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases,
but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replace-
able. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

754

881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives
292 keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, es-
pecially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they
start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and
slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives con-
tribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the
chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quanti-
ties of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for
all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best
dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their
finest robes, their headbands (kifra) with the crest of feathers,
or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/
robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls
which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with
large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting,
[32] preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions
they dance through the night, the following morning, and the
afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold
horse races on which large bets are wagered.

891 When the prescribed number of days are over, during
911 which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
having taken any food during that time, according to what they
say, her relatives untie the hammock in the early hours of
dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food
she receives is a drink of bija /schioté/ dissolved in water.
Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn
matamoris without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
[62] meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, be-
cause by doing so she would age prematurely and her face
would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that
food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which
612 have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important
for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/90 cont./

513 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

513 Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price
242 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal
or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and
● delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

513 Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts
512 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed physically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives. These old men pay a price which

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all
congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives
weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is
dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited.
At the present time it is customary for each small family of
means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone
remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are
accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the
very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached
to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which,
like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These indi-
viduals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his
body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a
cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region
is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he
brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the
others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his
affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then
he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the
bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his
work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having
[183] finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for
some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[162] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not
partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they re-
ceive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have
come together again for this purpose.

28 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in
some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the in-
fluence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where
the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/230 cont./

462 We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

[262] 223 Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that [42] it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

[29 cont.]

*756
833
834 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds [87] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756
693 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756
776
844 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756
841
843 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will become worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756
834 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as [89] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756
262 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[30 cont.]

*756
422
● for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle [422] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171
262
*756 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. According to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have inoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambé, do not eat the jacau, do not eat the cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the innames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756
422
[422] So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as payment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children (bijos) as he does with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Goajiro customary law....

*756
785
Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for sending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
762 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of
the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man
(cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among
those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink,
which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[767] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to
the guests and especially to those whom we could call "profes-
sional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over
the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly
certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals,
one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

● 262 It is a fact that the relatives -- sons, daughters, nephews
764 [and nieces, sabrin], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. --
763 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
762 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their
dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's
relatives, serves to prove to us -- so far as it is possible to de-
duce -- the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's
livestock, mock which on being slaughtered takes on the same
untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes
on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters
the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the
animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

[765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial
is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[763] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child
is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhoea and night sweats,
765 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
764 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies
have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the follow-
ing system of curing (a system which with some variations is
also common among the people of the town of Santander).
They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[18 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his
excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a
hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn
to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate
the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk.
The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously
noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature
is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When
it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed
with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
125 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
it causes mortality. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat
is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost
their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear
in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which,
as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based
above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected
783 by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

• [262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night.

[513] Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of
[975] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

[231] 6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá [834] "within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has
766 been complied with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [822] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

[821] In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[92 cont.]

177

789

The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

719

[52]

Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[56]

2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438

781

675

4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[94 cont.]

[832] made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[62] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achioté [bi'a], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achioté powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love charm which will give her the power always to be attractive

• [154] to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all

[214] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [96] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will

[334] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the beach but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[102 cont.]

777 prayer and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

778 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

779 The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

780 When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. He then replaces the charm and turns on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or better, for should he do so he will become mad.

[103 cont.]

787 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226
751 Charm for the sea. In Rifachas one of the Indians who assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[136 cont.]

536
796 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

223 7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devours the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them aside-
[22] only in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536
796 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

[157 cont.]

mental outlook it originates - imbued, as we have affirmed, with an animistic determinism - and the beliefs it implies in the different angles of Goajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke - as fully explained in the corresponding section - compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.

Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

[158 cont.]

262
meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Goajito's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[182]
754
787
788
c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in these matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104
182
244
achote (Bixa orellana)

ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita maxima)

artemisia (f. Synanthroes or Compositae)

indigo (f. Leguminosae)

cardon (Pilococcus acrotrichus)

mahogany cedar (fam. Cedriaceae, Sp. Mahoe of Linnaeus)

lepine (Alnus gracilior) [Indian licorice]

GUAYRA PENINSULA, V.A. OF COLOMBIA.

781

when to exercise his begging propensities. To exercise the dead before the relatives is a dreadful offense, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's house, with nephew or uncle present, they will surely kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spot of the moment, it renders itself into a heavy fine, usually two or three cows. Even if none of the dead person's relatives are present, any friend may carry the news to the relatives, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably exacted, and the two parties are at war. It is not wise to exercise either of any sort in the Guajiro in blood company.

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separately at the time of its death, then compensation has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Tayira mullina tulin," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for a child, whether it was killed, and to demand compensation, weeps, is another. They are generally greatly grieved in paying a fine; should the father die, the mother weeps, for the relatives will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be shamed. The following case of murder I witnessed in Arripe. Some Pichiche Indians, one got on to a strange horse, and was kicked off by the owner, so not recognizing he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relatives, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two mules of various kinds, two drops of black beads (about 15 lbs). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more or more than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families are back again at each other as nothing. Should an Indian be attempting to kill another he would be killed, his family demand the same or enough to atone was such.

Among Guajiro customs, the one that calls most attention is that of dressing up their young girls in evening or wretched. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined to a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and drops, and all her dressing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, and is also allowed to eat her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being lupins, a preparation of artificial bark. According to myth, a figure of that is carved the first month, or more being allowed. She can be freely mortified and is usually allowed to try her relatives as "wishes were power," "she is shut up in her house." The time of confinement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people must stand to every girl like more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even five years. It is while in this state that she learns all woman's requirements—

THE AN EXPLORATION OF THE GOAJIRO PENINSULA, E.A. OF COLOMBIA.

122 As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajiro is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a bag of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foresee when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

36/614
825
List of Birds or Ouses, with their respective animals and favorite haunts.

Uruca	..	Onchager	Tiger	..	..	..	About Tama and Babia Honda.
"	..	Arpant	Rabbit	..	..	..	About Ome and Matangia coast.
"	..	Onchager	A singing bird	..	..	..	Everywhere.
"	..	Habiera	Gorko (Horn)	..	..	..	Only in the plains.
Epilys	..	Guarumia	A species of vulture	..	..	..	Babia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pachala	..	Pachala	A species of small monkey.	..	..	..	Panad, Abaja, and plains.
Spum	..	Muskat	A sort of hawk	..	..	..	Porto Sany, Chapana, &c.
Jayaid	..	Id	Dog	..	..	..	Mamun and plains.
Jayaid	..	Kadurita	Hot-ashes	..	..	..	Toto, Hapara.
Argumalia	..	Kamur	Vulture	..	..	..	Guinon and plains, Ome.
Begum	..	Guinon	Hut	..	..	..	Plains, Guinon.
"	..	Guinon	A species of duck	..	..	..	(?)
Epilys	..	Uyden	A small hawk	..	..	..	Porto, Hapara.
Joran or Pual	..	Guinon	Wb...	..	..	..	Only in the Mamun valley.
Burman	..	Guinon or Guarumia	Species of vulture	..	..	..	Only in the Upper Goajiro.
Uerlyd	..	Hut	Hot-ashes	..	..	..	Everywhere.
Pumyd	..	Hut	(?)	..	..	..	(?)
Wijuna	..	Chet	Wasp	..	..	..	Upper Goajiro only.
Guinon	..	Guinon	Fox	..	..	..	Only in the hills of Mamun.
Guinon or Guarumia	..	Par	Partridge	..	..	..	Tama and Upper Goajiro.
Argumalia	..	Guinon	Species of vulture	..	..	..	Upper Goajiro only.
Pumyd	..	Hut	Guinon	..	..	..	"
Argumalia	..	Hut	Hot-ashes	..	..	..	"
Uruca	..	Are all Ome Indians	..	..	..	..	Ome hills only.
Argumalia	..	A small, almost unknown tribe	..	..	..	..	in the hills of Mamun.
Guinon or Guarumia	..	Guinon	Species of vulture	..	..	..	Only in the hills of Upper Goajiro.

● [262] N.B.—The Mamun, a very small tribe, are known as Hut and Guinon. This is considered by the other Indians to be very common, but, until lately, did not even call them. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of Guinon, "guinon," and Guinon.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

576 You always sein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anhi pis*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*as*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally 212 they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

32 We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the siver bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

(42) The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

(45) The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish 32 told us how desperate their plight had been a few years 73

123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
 524 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute
 was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the
 musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed
 instruments were not known in South America before the
 arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all
 that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments
 were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that
 they were introduced late.

123 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing
 262 that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
 264 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
 like their taste and never did more than just sample them.
 We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main
 dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled
 dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and
 we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred
 not to know why.

26 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without
 salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all
 bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has
 to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying,
 but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with.
 Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 Having four young men present, I thought I would
 526 arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit
 tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable
 things and the contestants did their best. The fourth
 received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their
 weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections;
 the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man
 said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bam-
 boo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds,
 had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was
 meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They
 showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent
 them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

INDISCREET INVESTIGATION

83

They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
 The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
 green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262] •
 vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
 of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
 on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412
 couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
 with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
 Goajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
 if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
 look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. (42)
 The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
 pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
 been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
 their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
 before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
 their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
 carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had
 hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They 411
 laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
 showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
 doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
 the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus caenensis.) They showed us the short throwing
 clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
 throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
 club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
 yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
 ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
 deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
 sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 431
 couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
 doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
 wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
 difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
 the peninsula. The Goajiro not only trafficked with the

857 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very [262] shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 857 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [262] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

764 hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

CONJURATION OF SPIRITS

131

been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756
787
276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756
[352]
[262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

THE BRIGANDS OF CUSINA

145

known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

THE BRIGANDS OF CUINA

149

neighbourhood. We did not know exactly where he was at the time, but hoped that our Indians with their tracker's sense would be able to find him.

We were unlucky, however. Our animals were tired, and had the maize sacks to carry as additional loads, and our progress was very slow. We had bought a pack mule, which Father Crispin had thought highly of. He was an expert on Guajiro animals, which are not quite like others, but this time he had evidently made a mistake for the mule was useless. We heard Francisco shouting at it alternately in Spanish and Guajiro; the Indians hauled on its halter and kicked it from behind, but nothing helped. When we came to a place where there was a little grass, we decided to halt and sleep there among the ants on the ground. Mules never seem to sleep: they trot by day and graze by night. I asked Francisco when they slept. The question astounded him: he had never thought of mules as requiring sleep.

We were so tired that, as soon as the animals had been loosed on to the grass and our camp set up, we fell asleep without thought of ants or other creatures. Although we had not found the chief, he found us. He must have had his scouts out. Anyway, in the morning he rode into our camp and invited us to his temporary residence, which was quite close. The shortage of pasture had turned him into a nomad.

This chief, Antonio, was a mestizo. He had no Indian clan name, but called himself Gonzalez. Certain mestizos and mulattos had Indianised themselves and become rich men, not always in an exemplary manner. Once rich, owning slaves and cattle, they also acquired power and were called chiefs, at least by white people. They were not real chiefs of clans.

We were given a most friendly and hospitable reception. A cloth was put up to protect us from the sun, and refreshing chicha, the fermented maize brew, was served us all day long. The food was good: grilled beef, maize rolls, the black fruits called olives, boiled roots of some seed imported from moister regions, and cactus figs, which the Indians called *iguaya*. The chief and his family lived in the centre of the

[213]

[262]

the chief game. The Goajiro who live near the coast sometimes catch 22 fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The Goajiro are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 23/ consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 22/ seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [52] the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the Goajiro keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, bottom, 23/ left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [54] of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [55] the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [56] textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [57] round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed. [58]

Food preparation.—Goajiro diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262 milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat. 252 and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the Goajiro are of a common origin, they are divided into 616-618 sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area [59] (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 37-2 are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [60] tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [61] of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When ni-

/327 cont./

776
114

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1962, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. John (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified Maleiwa with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuna (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

773

[32]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north.

The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.

[32]
[32]

Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
 212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
 773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
 [212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded
 field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for
 the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
 614 zancalargas (thin-legged gallatores) and weaver birds; he
 212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
 773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
 825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought
hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of
 Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simul-
 taneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow
 and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which
 fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
 212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
 773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
 [230] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one
 of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups,
 the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that
 cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the
 Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apehana, Sijuana,
 Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú,
 Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú,
 Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
 [422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one
 group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
 212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
 773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
 825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
 422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in
 their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which